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A

# CONFUTATION

Of a late

# PAMPHLET

INTITULED,

A LETTER Ballancing the Neceſſity of keeping a LAND-FORCE in time of PEACE, with the Dangers that may follow on it.

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The Second Edition Corrected.

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*LONDON*,
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# THE PREFACE.

THis whole Controverſy about a Standing Army, which is a diſpute betwixt Legions and Laws, has been cautiouſly managed on both ſides, for no one Author has ſet his Name to his Book: The Author I write againſt has ſuppreſſed his, for which reaſon I have forborn mine meerly to be conformable. I am very certain, ſo as to be able to make it out to any Man, that what I have here written, is the beſt and trueſt Service I was capable of rendring to the King, which I am bound to do: and to my Country eſpecially, for whoſe ſake it is that we have a King at all, and for whoſe good and benefit that Office was inſtituted. "For an Engliſh King is Made "and Ordained for the defence of the Law of his Subjects "and of their bodies and goods, whereunto he receiveth a "Power derived from his People, ſo that he cannot govern "his People by any other Power. As Fortelcue ſays, p. 32. Ad tutelam legis Subditorum Rex Erectus eſt, &c. Poteſtatem habet a Populo effluxam, &c.

*On the other hand, they who are for a Standing Army, endeavour to alter the Government all at once, and make it abſolute and arbitrary, whether the King will or no, and tho he have no mind to it. For if he have a Standing Army, he can enſlave the Nation if he will, and then they are Slaves already. For to depend upon Will and Pleaſure is the loweſt degree of Slavery. And that he will not uſe them like Slaves, when he can every Moment, is more than a Nation can poſſibly know, or even he himſelf. The greateſt Slaves we know are but dragoonable; they are not always actually dragoon'd, that is time enough when it comes.*

*And therefore they that go about to arm the King againſt the Conſtitution, and to make him the Ricketty Head of a weak and languiſhing Body, are common Enemies both to him and the Realm. For tho the Genius of a Hero, and perſonal Endowments make a great Man, yet it is a great and conſiderable People alone, which makes a great King: and a greatneſs built upon their Ruins is a falſe and ruinous Greatneſs, and ſuch Power is always Weakneſs.*

*This following Diſcourſe was written ſome while ago, whereby ſome few Expreſſions in it may ſeem leſs ſeaſonable, and to have lapſed their time; but if it be worth Reading, it comes out time enough: if not; too ſoon.*

A

# CONFUTATION

OF THE

# Ballancing Letter.

EVery body muſt needs be glad to ſee the *Ballancing Letter*, becauſe Weight and Meaſure go through the World, and there can be no Deceit in them. And therefore omitting the Author's Preface, and our Fleet, which is allow'd to be neceſſary, and is given us by the Lump, I come to that which he makes the Queſtion, *p.* 2. in theſe words. " The only Point in which " our Opinions may perhaps differ, is, whether we ought " to maintain ſo conſiderable a Force at Land, as will be " ſufficient to make a ſtand againſt an Invaſion; or whe- " ther the Militia can be made ſo conſiderable, that we " may truſt to it at home, as well as to our Fleets abroad, " and be ſafe in this.

Now he ought to have put this firſt preliminary Queſtion thus, *whether the Militia as it is at preſent, and the whole Strength of* England *beſide, is ſufficient to oppoſe an Invaſion, without a Standing Army?* This is a plain Queſtion, and thereupon it would ſoon be determined whether a Standing Army were neceſſary or needleſs. For then it would cut off that trifling Diſpute, what a deal of time it would take up to train and model the Militia, and make

it ſerviceable; what *Slips* and *Uncertainties* that Work is liable to, *&c.* *p.* 7, 8. The true State of the Queſtion would likewiſe have ſhrunk a Standing Army to nothing, as to the purpoſe of defending the Nation. For *the Militia as it is at preſent, and the whole Strength of* England *beſides*, includes not only the Barons of *England*, who are ſtiled *Robur Belli*, and the Gentlemen of *England* who are no Cowards, as alſo the Auxiliaries, and innumerable Volunteers, ſuch as were at *Purbeck*; but likewiſe this whole Veteran Army it ſelf, which tho disbanded will be always within Call, and ready to be raiſed again upon an Invaſion, and perhaps may in great part come ſooner to the place of Landing, than a peculiar ſtanding Land Force it ſelf, which may chance to be far out of the way. And if this ſuppoſed Invaſion come in any reaſonable time, it cannot be imagined that the Skill, Valour, and Conduct of our disbanded Troops, nor none of their Military Attainments will ſo ſoon depart from them; and conſequently that this Strength will ſtill continue in the Nation, and would likewiſe certainly be at the Service of the Nation, if it were not for one Objection, That if you disband Souldiers in time of Peace, and when you have no need of them, they will not help you in time of War, and when you have need of them.

I do not believe a word of this, That any true Engliſhmen will be unwilling to help us and themſelves too when an Enemy comes; eſpecially if there be no diſtinction made, and if they do not ſee others kept in idle pay, and themſelves diſcharged who have done the ſame Service: for this will breed Emulation amongſt Brother-Soldiers, which is not ſo well: Provided alſo that they be diſmiſſed with an honourable Gratuity, which I look upon to be a due Debt. The Nation being in this poſture, there is no more need for twenty thouſand of the Army to be kept up

up Regimentally to withſtand an Invaſion, under a pretence of being in readineſs, than there is need for theſe twenty thouſand to have their Horſes always bridled and ſadled, their Muskets and Piſtols always cock't, or to lie in their Boots. So that the *neceſſity* of keeping a Land Force in time of Peace, when it comes to be examined, does not outweigh the Duſt of the Ballance, and we need weigh nothing againſt it.

Our Author proceeds, *p.* 2. " I will not ſuggeſt ſo un-
" becoming a Thought, as to imagin that any of our
" Neighbours will ſeek to take advantage againſt us; or
" break the Peace, and invade us contrary to the Honour
" and Faith of Treaties: No, I will not ſuſpect it.
" But the beſt Guaranty of a Peace is a good Force to
" maintain it: and the ſureſt way to keep all our Neigh-
" bours to an exact performance of Articles, is to be upon
" our Guard. They will be then faithful to Agreements,
" when they ſee no opportunities of ſurprizing us, and
" that our Peace does not lay us aſleep, and make us for-
" get the Art of War. I mean it is no reflection on a-
" ny of the Neighbouring Princes, when I conclude that
" their Faith is not ſo abſolute a Security, but that we
" muſt help them to be true to their word, by ſhewing
" them they are not like to get much by breaking it.

In this third Paragraph he is at a deal of complemental Pains with our Neighbours, to get leave of them for his ſuppoſal of a treacherous Invaſion: Or elſe he has no pretence for a Standing Army, to help them to be true to their word. He does not ſuſpect, but only ſuppoſes, in order to get a Land Force eſtabliſhed, and then they may come at their Peril.

But does not this kind of Diſcourſe very much diſparage our new Peace, that the next Day we muſt ſtand in fear of an Invaſion, which *p.* 15. he calls *our preſent*

*Danger*, as if their Invaſion were to come firſt, and their Embaſſadors after: and to have our Peace ſo falſe built, as to want propping and ſhoreing already with a Land Force: and that we muſt have our Peace clad in Armour, and look ſo like a War, that we cannot know them aſunder, unleſs it be by this difference, that then our Army was abroad, and now he would have it in our own Bowels?

That which follows is ſtill more ſurprizing, in theſe words, *p.* 3.

" But miſtake me not:

" When I ſeem to prepare you to conſider the neceſſity " of keeping a Land Force, I am far from the thought of " a *Standing Army*. Any Man who would pretend to " give a jealouſy of the Nation to the King, and ſuggeſt " that he could not be ſafe among them without he were " environ'd with Guards and Troops, as it was in the " late Reigns, ought to be abhorred by every true *Engliſhman*, by every Man who loves Liberty and his " Country. The caſe at preſent is, whether conſidering " the Circumſtances that we and our Neighbours are now " in, it may not be both prudent and neceſſary for us to " keep up a reaſonable Force from Year to Year: The " State of Affairs both at home and abroad being every " Year to be conſidered in Parliament, that ſo any ſuch " Force may be either encreaſed, leſſened, or quite laid " aſide as they ſhall ſee cauſe.

In this Paſſage there are as many Fallacies and Deceits as there are Lines. For firſt, here is the chriſtning of a Standing Army by the Name of a Land Force, and then it is no longer a Standing Army; no, God forbid. This is like the *Lollards* Device to keep *Lent* with a Pig; it was but plunging it into a Tub of Water, and ſaying, *down Pig, up Pike*, and forthwith it became very good Fiſh. I

give

give the honour of this Invention to the Author of this Letter, for it was written before the meeting of the Parliament, ſo that he did not copy. And we are beholden to them for many more ſuch diſguiſing Terms and Blinds to the Nation. From hence came our Deſertion and Abdication inſtead of a plain Engliſh Forfeiture, which the *Scotch* Parliament honeſtly called *Forefaulting*; hence likewiſe came our Convention Parliament, which they might better have called a Veſtry or a Wardmote Parliament, for that had been an Engliſh Name. Now the miſchievous Deſign of this was to rob the Nation of two important Points, firſt, That a King could forfeit; and ſecondly, That a true Repreſentative of the Nation might be a Parliament without the Formality of the Kings Writ. Whereas if K. *James* did not forfeit, I defy any Man to ſhow how we came by this Government: And if the free Parliament which they call'd the Convention, was not a true Parliament, as well as the free Parliament in 60, which is adjudged ſo, particularly in the caſe of the *Covent Garden* Act; how then could it make a true King, capable to call a true Parliament ever after? The Defects and Difficulties are incurable. But allowing what they would have, that neither K. *James* nor any other King can forfeit; and that it is no true Parliament which meets upon the like occaſion, as that which they diſabled by the Name of Convention; you plainly ſee they have got two impregnable Fortreſſes of Arbitrary Power ready built, which want nothing but to be well gariſoned with Land Forces.

It is a known Art of Deceit to give any hated thing a new Name, whereby in effect it is put out of Peoples knowledg, and the old Notion and Apprehenſion of it is loſt; ſo coining of Dollars is unlawful, but caſting of them may be lawful. A Papiſt was a Name juſtly hated by Proteſtants, and always called to mind what the Nation

tion had ſuffered by them: and yet in the laſt Reign, when they ſwarm'd moſt, there was not one Papiſt left; they were all Catholicks or of the Kings Religion. So that if we were not perfectly reconciled to them under theſe new Names, we muſt fall out both with our King and our Creed. In like manner a Standing Army was always a Name of dread and horrour to an Engliſh Ear, and ſignified the worſt ſort of Invaſion, being inteſtine and already got within us: And therefore only the thing was to be brought upon us, but the ſtartling Name to be renounced; and then Land Forces become as gentle and innocent a thing as Catholicks.

In the next place he would inſinuate a difference betwixt a Standing Army now, and the Guards and Troops of the two laſt Reigns; as if a Standing Army were not the ſame thing, and equally deſtructive to the Liberties of a Nation at all times, let the Pretences of keeping them up be what they will. Slavery is the ſame, by what ever fetch it is brought about; and therefore whether a Standing Army then was under pretence of the Kings Safety, or now for our own Safety, it alters not the Caſe, if we be alike overpowered and ſubdued by it, and Slavery inſeparable from it, which is demonſtrable. For to live under a Force and yet to enjoy Liberty or be a Freeman at the ſame time, is an utter impoſſibility and a contradiction in Terms. And therefore his own words return upon himſelf; any Man who ſuggeſts a pretence to the King for a Standing Army, *ought to be abhorred by every Engliſhman, by every Man that loves Liberty and his Country:* for the Reaſon and Force of the Abhorrence does not lie in the difference of Suggeſtions to the King, but in the Guards and Troops which are thereby raiſed, for they it is that ruin our *Liberty and Country*, and therefore give but a bad Character to any body that is for them.

The

The next remarkable Deceit, for it would be tedious to reckon them all, is the prudent and neceſſary Proviſion of a *reaſonable Force from Year to Year*, as if it were upon liking, tho all the Reaſons are perpetual. *For our Neighbours miſtaken Notion of keeping up a mighty Force* is like to continue; and if thoſe Forces were disbanded, yet they are in being, and may ſoon be rallied; *England* will always be an *open*, and I hope a *plentiful Country*, tho not *to ſubſiſt an Army*; *our Fleets liable to be Wind-bound, &c.* ſo that his buſineſs is to get Footing for an Army for a Year firſt, and then we are like to have them for ever: for they ought not to ceaſe while the Reaſon of them continues.

And Laſtly, This Annual Army is to depend upon the Regulation of an Annual Parliament; but our Act is Triennial, and not overeaſily obtained. However in a Parliament when it ſits, the Land Force will come into conſideration in order *to be either encreaſed, leſſened, or quite laid aſide as they ſhall ſee cauſe.* There never will be cauſe to the end of the World to lay it aſide, if not now; for now we are fartheſt off from an Invaſion, having juſt ſtruck up a firm and faſt League, and made a ſincere and laſting Peace, which if it be not the beſt at firſt, is worſe than a new Broom, and differs from all other things in the World, which are always the worſe for wearing. We were lately told, that once *there appeared but one ſpeck of Blue in the whole Horizon*, whereas now it is all Blue, and there is not one ſpeck of a Cloud. This Preface likewiſe ſays, *England is now the wonder of the World*, and it would be a greater wonder, if it ſhould juſt now be invaded: and I challenge any Man to name any imaginable State of Affairs, when it ſhall be fitter and ſafer and more neceſſary to lay aſide an Army than now. And therefore to ſay, it is now *indiſpenſibly neceſſary to our Preſervation*, and that P. 15. it is *preſent and certain ruin* to be without it, and yet talk P. 16.

of

of laying it aſide hereafter, ſhews that he neither means good Faith, nor vvrites good Senſe.

His next words are theſe: " I will not argue with you " ſo unfairly, as to urge much the Reaſons that we have " of truſting the King; for how much ſoever may be " ſaid on this Head, either from his Temper, his Cir- " cumſtances, his Intereſt, and the courſe of his paſt Life, " either with relation to the United Provinces, or to us " here in *England*, and with how much reaſon ſoever this " might be proſecuted, yet I will not lay much weight " on it; for it is not juſt to preſs an Argument, that puts " another Man in Pain, when he goes to anſwer it. I " know it may be ſaid, That Men are but Men; ſo that " we make a dangerous Experiment of their Virtue, when " we put too much in their Power: and that what is done " to one King who deſerves it, and will manage it faith- " fully, will be made an Argument to do the ſame for a- " nother King, that has neither Merit nor Capacity to " entitle him to ſo entire a Confidence.

" To ſay all in one word, if we were in the ſame Con- " dition in which we and our Neighbours were an Age " ago, I ſhould reject the Propoſition with horrour. " But the caſe is alter'd; the whole World, *&c.*

We will talk of *Plowden*'s Saying and the Alteration of the Caſe by and by; in the mean time we will diſpatch the former Paragraph. He ſays with a ſeeming Candour, *that he will not urge much the Reaſons we have of truſting the King*. The Nation has already truſted the King with all that ever they had to truſt him with, all the Rights of an Engliſh King, and the Imperial Crown of this Realm, with all the Dominions, Juriſdictions, Prerogatives and Preeminences belonging thereto. And when the Parliament inveſted His Majeſty with this Regality, he was pleaſed to accept of it as the greateſt *Truſt* they could repoſe in him.

But

But the new Truſt this Letter inſiſts upon is an Army which can overpower and conquer the Nation. For it is to be ſuch a Force as can withſtand an Invaſion, which all the Nation beſides is not able to do; that is to ſay, it can beat thoſe that can beat us, and therefore it can much more beat us. So that it is a Force which commands all our Lives, Liberties, and Eſtates: and this Power is to be put into the King's Hands, and conſequently the whole Nation is to be at his Diſcretion. This is the Truſt. Now never trouble your Head more about it, nor about extolling the King, nor be in pain for your Anſwerer, how he will get over the Argument of the King's Merit to have this Truſt and entire Confidence put in him. For we have higher thoughts of the King than you have, and particularly this honourable Notion of him which you have not, that he deſpiſes and ſcorns all your little Flatteries; and yet we believe that he does not deſerve this Truſt, nor can manage it faithfully; that he has neither Merit nor Capacity to entitle him to ſo entire a Confidence.

No, not if he had all the Perfections upon Earth, as he has a great many; nay if he were an Angel, he were not fit for this Truſt. For ſuch an abſolute Reſignation of our ſelves is only proper to be made to God. Thus the great *Coligny* rendered up himſelf to God when the treacherous Guards broke in upon him, *Here I am, do with me as thou pleaſeſt.* It is an Act of Worſhip to commit our ſelves and all that we have to a Diſcretionary Power, and therefore it ought to be paid to nothing but a being of infinite Goodneſs, which is alſo under the Conduct of unerring Wiſdom. This Truſt is too big for the Port and Capacity of a Man, or of any thing that is finite and fallible. This Author ſays, *p.* 4. *in an arbitrary Government all depends upon the Will of the Prince.* How could he have otherwiſe deſcribed the State and Condition of

Creatures, in reference to their great Creator? That all ſhould depend upon that Sovereign Will which brought us into Being, is highly reaſonable; but that a Nation's All ſhould depend upon the Will and Pleaſure of a Man of their own ſetting up, is flat Idolatry, and beneath the Popiſh Worſhip of Saints and Angels. For what is this Will of the Prince that All depends upon? Is it eſſential Goodneſs and Righteouſneſs? No, it is nothing leſs; it is Arbitrarineſs, it is Self-will, *we will, becauſe ſuch is our Will and Pleaſure*, the moſt arrogant and ſenſeleſs Will in the World. God never aſſumed this to himſelf, but he always acts by eternal Right and Reaſon; and his Throne is eſtabliſhed in Righteouſneſs. And therefore when Princes affect to be Arbitrary, they affect a proud, monſtrous, blind and brutiſh Power, which is neither fit for Heaven nor Earth.

Ninus Belus, *&c.*

The firſt rude and unexperienced Age of the World fell into the admiration of ſome great Perſonages, whom they choſe for their Kings, and were governed by them at diſcretion; for they idolized and worſhipped them both alive and dead. But they ſoon found their Errour; *they ſaw that to live by one Man's Will became the cauſe of all Mens Miſery; and this conſtrained them to come to Laws*, as *Hooker*'s words are. Now to relapſe into this Folly and Idolatry would be unpardonable, after the World for ſo long time has known better. Neither could Mankind after ſuch Wrecks on the Shore, and ſuch Warnings of Miſchief, ever fall into the like again, were they not wrought upon by practice and groſly deluded. Sometimes a Nation is enſlaved by a Point of Religion; as the Grand Seignior's being Succeſſor to *Mahomet* makes him abſolute and arbitrary. He is a Vicegerent, and repreſents the great Prophet himſelf. Sometimes a Nation is taken at a diſadvantage, when they are intoxicated and hardly themſelves,

themſelves, as after a Reſtoration or Revolution, upon any Deliverance, or tranſport of Joy and Affection to their Prince; then is the time for deſigning Men to over-reach a Nation, and to ruin them by their own fond and Hony-moon Grants. Then a Project of *John Gyldenſtern*, for Inſtance, is very ſeaſonable. Theſe are the ſoft and eaſy Times, in which the Stateſmen know a Nation is capable of being new moulded: for at ſuch a time they have not one wiſe or wary Thought in their Heads. At other times a Nation is under ſome great Difficulties, and is forced to give ſome particular Power to enable their Prince for that preſent Diſtreſs; for Inſtance, to levy Money in an extraordinary way, while there is a War in the Country and the Parliament cannot meet; but he afterwards retains that Power, when the Reaſon and Occaſion of it ceaſes, and perverts it to the altering of the Government. At another time a Nation is actually invaded, and fooliſhly and cauſeleſly diſtruſting its own ſtrength, gets help from others. So the *Saxons* helped the *Brittains* with a Land Force, but they helped them too much.

But there never was ſuch a Jeſt in the World as the preſent pretence which is now on foot. The ſhadow of an Aſs, an imaginary Invaſion, which they dare not ſuppoſe without unſuppoſing it again in the ſame breath, as we ſaw how this Author mumbled his Thiſtles in the third Paragraph. And under pretence of this ſuppoſable not to be ſuppoſed Invaſion, we muſt have 20 thouſand Men in Arms, to be upon conſtant Duty, to watch when the Sky falls, and to ſhew the Man abroad, that all the Nation is not aſleep. Altho when the Man abroad pleaſes to come, we have thoſe very 20 thouſand ready enough to entertain him, tho they do not ſtand Regimentally in their Arms 7 Years together to await his coming; and we have 30 thouſand more as well finiſhed Soldiers as they; and an

hundred and fifty thouſand more, that either are or ſoon may be as good as either of them; and ſome Millions of able Men, who when they are tryed, may behave themſelves as well as any of them all. Now here lies the Cheat of the buſineſs, tho this 20 thouſand Men be too many for an Embaſſy, and too few for the Man abroad, yet a ſmall part of them is more than enough againſt all the Men at home, and an overmatch for the whole People of *England*: for in that Capacity they are ſaid to be irreſiſtible; and have none to deal with in that caſe, but naked unarmed Men with their Hands bound, whom they may conquer with the bare face of Authority. In ſhort, this propoſed Land Force is too few to defend the Nation againſt a numerous Invader, and more than enough to deſtroy us at home; ſo that this Author's *neceſſity* of having them, ſhews for what purpoſe he wants them, and cannot be without them: for if they are *neceſſary*, they are an indiſpenſible Means to an End; and it is plain which End they can compaſs, and which not.

But to return from whence I have made this Digreſſion. *In an Arbitrary Government all depends upon the Will of the Prince.* Is a whole Nation made for one Man? why elſe ſhould it entirely depend upon his Will? Were they created for his Will and Pleaſure, or is that Will and Pleaſure of his always conducted by Divine Attributes, ſo as to be qualified for ſo great a Truſt? If neither of theſe can be ſaid, then it is plain that an Arbitrary Government is abſurd and monſtrous, and that it is againſt all the Right and Reaſon in the World, for 10 Millions of Men, endued with the ſame Faculties as he has, to depend upon the Will of one Man, as if he were a God. If there muſt be a publick *Will*, there is as much reaſon for a publick *Conſcience*, and then the old Queſtion of *John Gerſon* Chancellor of *Paris* returns; *Quorſum mihi mea conſci-*

*entia*,

*entia, ſi mihi ſecundum alienam conſcientiam vivendum eſt & moriendum?* In like manner, why did God give every Man in a Community an Underſtanding, and Will, and Power of Choice and Conſent, if they are all to depend upon one Mans Will? They had better have had none of all theſe. This Government therefore is contrary to the Frame and Conſtitution of Human Nature, it is fit only for Creatures which have no Reaſon, no Will, no Underſtanding; it is Common-hunt Government.

I like the Kingdom of *Ceilon* in one point, for there we find plain dealing. The Kings have immemorially been in the *miſtaken Notion* of keeping up Standing Armies, Thorn Gates, and all the Devices of Arbitrary Government: On the other ſide the People (as we would call them, but they know better) depend upon the *Will* of the Prince, and are in a moſt profound and devout Slavery; but then they treat their Prince and themſelves thereafter. The King they call by a Name, that ſignifies ſomewhat higher than a Man, and next to God. Heretofore they ſtiled him *Dionanxi*, which is an Addition to God; but a late Rebellion has frighted him, and put him out of conceit with that blaſphemous Title, which he took before, but has ſince forbid it. When they ſpeak to the King concerning themſelves, they do not ſpeak in the firſt Perſon, and ſay *I did ſo or ſo*, but *Baulagaut, the Limb of a Dog did ſo.* Or if he ask them how many Children they have, they anſwer *the Limb of a Dog* has ſo many *Puppy-Dogs*, and ſo many *Bitch Puppies.* Very conciſe and expreſſive! one would take it to be a Philoſophical Language. *Knox Hiſt. Ceilon*, p. 38, 105.

Well, *Gaudeant benè nati*, as Sir *Theodore Mayern* uſed to ſay upon another occaſion, God be thanked that we were not born Puppy-Dogs: And let us think never the worſe of our Anceſtors, for not providing us a King of

a different Species from our ſelves. In the mean time let the more refined parts of the World brag, that their King can ſend for their Head, tax them high and low, ſend them to their Wars, or to their Gallies as they pleaſe; and let them laugh at thoſe few Nations as boriſh and barbarous, uncourtly and uncivilized, who are not ſo entirely devoted to the Will of their Prince, as they are: provided none of theſe ſlaviſh Principles come hither, we fear no other Invaſion. God has given us here a World by our ſelves, and if any Slaves from abroad can beat us out of it, we ought not to enjoy it an hour longer; for he made no part of the World for Cowards.

I return to our Author. "To ſay all in one word, if "we were in the ſame condition in which we and our "Neighbours were an Age ago, I ſhould reject the Pro-"poſition with horrour. But the caſe is altered; the "whole World, more particularly our Neighbours, have "now got into the miſtaken Notion of keeping up a "Mighty Force, and the powerfulleſt of all theſe happens "to be our next Neighbour, who will very probably keep "up great Armies: and we may appear too inviting, if "we are in ſuch an open and unguarded Condition, that "the ſucceſs of the Attempt may ſeem to be not only pro-"bable but certain. *England* is an open Country, full of "plenty, every where able to ſubſiſt an Army: Our "Towns and Cities are all open, our Rivers are all ford-"able; no Paſſes nor ſtrong places can ſtop an Enemy, "that ſhould land upon us. So that the whole Nation "lies open to any Army that ſhould once come into it.

Now we are coming towards the Title Page of this Letter, and the Merits of the Cauſe; the neceſſity of a Land Force, and the Dangers that may attend it. The *Dangers* of a Land Force and the new Truſt muſt needs be unſpeakably great, when if we were in other Circumſtances

ſtances our Author *would reject the Propoſition with horrour!* And the neceſſity muſt needs be as unſpeakably great, if we muſt take ſanctuary in a Propoſition of horrour, and make that our Refuge. If this be true ballancing, bad's the beſt.

And the Caſe of poor *England* muſt be ſtrangely altered in one Age, if a *Propoſition of horrour* comes to be embraced as the *only means of our Preſervation.* This Author is well aware that there is ſome deep Miſchief included in this Truſt of a Land Force, and in putting the full power and abſolute diſpoſal of a whole Nation into the hollow of one Hand, or elſe he could not in *any Caſe* reject it with *horrour.* And therefore he ought to have fairly laid it open at large, and to have given it full weight, when he was weighing it againſt the *neceſſity* that there is for it. But inſtead of that, he dwindles this horrid Miſchief into ſome *may be* but *improbable dangers that may follow on it*; *remote and uncertain Fears of Dangers that will probably never happen.* *A* Land Force, *poſſibly at ſome diſtance of time, may at ſome time hereafter have ill Effects on our Liberty, which cannot be conſiderable, while* England *is true to it ſelf.* How can it be true to it ſelf, when it is out of its own power, by being once fatally falſe to it ſelf? No body can be true, but where there is a Truſt. Nay, if any others mention the bad Conſequences of a Standing Army, which he calls *opening copiouſly upon the Subject*, this with him is *Rhetorick wrong applied*, becauſe the matter will lie before an undoubtedly once-a-Year Parliament: And therefore theſe Dangers in concluſion are the *imaginary Fears and Amuſements of a diſeaſed Melancholy*, which lies *dreaming of what will probably never happen.* Now if the Dangers of a Land Force amount to no more than this, how is this propoſal to be rejected with horror? And how come theſe Dangers to be ballanced? For Melancholick

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lancholick Fears, Imaginations, Amuſements, Dreams can be ballanced with nothing; becauſe a Million of them will not turn an empty Scale.

Whereas if he had dealt plainly and ſaid, that the eſtabliſhment of a Standing Army is an actual ſurrender of all our Liberties at once; that thence forward the whole Nation is at diſcretion, and lives under an armed irreſiſtible Force; that all depends upon the Will of the Prince; that thereby we make our ſelves as effectual Slaves as a Conqueſt can make us, and irrecoverably ſo, which that does not: If he had thus given us the plain Engliſh of his Truſt and Land Force, the *neceſſity* of them had immediately been ſhent, for every body would have rejected the Propoſition with horrour, in any ſtate of Affairs whatſoever. There never was ſuch a Propoſal in the World, unleſs that of Col. *Titus* to *Oliver*, and that I ſuppoſe not in earneſt neither, that he would kill himſelf, leſt ſomebody elſe ſhould, and leſt it might be done by ſome vulgar Hand.

On the other ſide, a Foreign Invaſion is no Propoſition of *horrour*, becauſe we are always liable to it, and it cannot be otherwiſe, unleſs we lived in the Moon. It only imports that we may be put to defend our own, which we never enjoyed upon any other Terms. Our Lives, Liberties, Properties can be upon no other Tenure, than to have and to hold; and if we do not think fit to defend them, they are none of ours, but the next Man's that comes: for it is a virtual relinquiſhing our Right, and the laſt Occupant in that Caſe is the firſt, and enters upon that which has no Owner. But God be thanked *England* needs not to be ſo abandoned; for we have ſuch an Over-plus of Strength in the Nation now, as we had not *an Age ago*: And as for the purpoſe of defending our Country, we never were in better Condition in any Age; tho I confeſs not for Conqueſts abroad, which however is neither our Buſineſs nor our Intereſt.

If

If therefore we ſhall appear too *inviting* to an Invader, unleſs we keep up a Standing Army; the Man abroad, HE, as it is in the Q[illegible]ries, (which is only this Letter turn'd Queſtioniſt) may come when he pleaſes and all his Men in Bear-skins: Nay, and every thing ſhall be juſt as this Author ſuppoſes; HE ſhall have a *Lapland* Wind for HIM, and againſt us, and *our powerful Fleet* P. 2. *which ought to maintain our Empire on the Sea,* ſhall be as inſignificant and inſufficient to ſtop him, as a Navy of Cockle-ſhells. Under an Arbitrary Government, you know, this Invaſion may be ſo privately carried on, that they ſhall *not know of it themſelves:* Therefore it will be impoſſible for P. 6. us to get any Intelligence of it; ſo that like white Gunpowder, it ſhall do execution, and give no Report, but land and ſurprize us. Well, and what then? Why then *England* the *wonder of the World is conquered* and loſt, *for we cannot withſtand it,* and what is worſe our *Author's Stake* is gone. P. 5.

There was never ſuch a ſcorn put upon the Engliſh Nation, which is a free independent Empire, to be repreſented thus little, as if it were no Nation at all, nor able to preſerve it ſelf, but lay at the Mercy of the next Invader; and muſt hire 20 thouſand Men to keep their Country for them, leſt it be pirated from them, and run away with; whom they muſt make their Patroons and Protectors at once, and be gladly enſlaved by them, for fear of being enſlaved by ſome body elſe. I have other Marks to gueſs at this Author by, but this plainly ſhews that he has not one drop of Engliſh Blood in his Veins, otherwiſe he would have let it all out, before he would ſo treacherouſly have diſabled his Native Country, in order to enſlave it: and becauſe I take him to be neither Native nor Trueman but a Spy, I will deal with him thereafter, and ſhow him wherein the Strength of *England* conſiſts: and it lies in theſe three things, their Cauſe, their Courage, and their Numbers.

Now our Cauſe againſt an Invader is ſuch as no Country in the World has; we have ſuch valuable Rights and Liberties of our own, and ſo entire a Propriety in our ſelves and all that we have, that would make any Man in earneſt to preſerve them. Perhaps this may look like Vanity and magnifying our own Country, and ſome Neighbours of ours may think much at it, who have called their Country *Gremium Libertatis*, the Lap of Liberty, and now repreſent *England* by a Milch-Ewe; but I am ſatisfied that the Engliſh Liberties are the moſt ſubſtantial that are left in theſe parts of the World, tho indeed they are due to all Mankind. Such as the making of our own Laws in Parliament; the applying theſe general Laws to a particular Caſe, by our Juries; the entire Property and Dominion we have in our Eſtates, ſo that, as Mr. *Selden* uſed to ſay, he that has but two Pence in *England* is a King of that two Pence. And the Air that we breath in is ſo free from Slavery, that no Man can be a Slave in *England*, but his very coming hither is a Manumiſſion. Theſe, as I ſaid before, are the Birth-right of Mankind; and for certain they did not enter into Society to be loſers by it, nor eſtabliſh Government to unman themſelves, and to deſtroy the Rights that are eſſential to their Being; but did it only for the better Security of them, and to preſerve and protect them by a united Strength. Now to have a due value for theſe Liberties is half in half towards the keeping them; ſo this Fetter-maker himſelf acknowledges in theſe words, p. 16. *And whenſoever the Nation has loſt that noble Senſe of Liberty, by which it has been ſo long preſerved, it will ſoon make Fetters for it ſelf, tho it ſhould find none at hand ready made.* Either there is no coherence in the whole Letter, or the *Fetters ready made to our hands* are a Land Force and the Conſequences of it; and who then ſent for him, to force

force theſe *Fetters* upon us, by no leſs than an abſolute and *indiſpenſible Neceſſity*, and to enſlave us before the time? For the City of *London* has not yet loſt the *noble Senſe of Liberty*; for in the laſt Speech the Recorder made to welcome home the King after the Peace, he ſays in the Name of the City, that *their Liberties were dearer to them than their Lives*; and I am ſure the Country is of the ſame mind.

They that have theſe Liberties, and this opinion of them, cannot chuſe but venture freely for them; whereas they that live under an Arbitrary Government have nothing of their own to defend, they can but ſecure their preſent Maſters claim to them, and only fight not to be turn'd over: Slaves they are already, and an Invaſion can make them no worſe, and therefore they can have but ſmall Heart or Encouragement to oppoſe it. And if they did not fight as blindly as they believe, but ſeriouſly reflected, that they venture their Lives to ſupport an unnatural and wicked Power of Oppreſſion, as good Soldiers as many of them be, it would make their Swords drop out of their Hands. On the other ſide, when Men fight for a Country and Conſtitution that there is no out-living, and Death it ſelf is the leſs damage of the two, they are ready to ſacrifice themſelves for it. Eſpecially when what they defend are the juſt Rights of Mankind, and to preſerve their Poſterity from being Puppy-Dogs; when they follow the eternal Connſel of God, as *Zuinglius* calls it. *If thou mayeſt be free uſe it rather*, and ſeek only to continue his Servants and their own Men, this entitles them to a higher Aſſiſtance: For *omnibus Honeſtam Libertatem quærentibus* (and which is better *propugnantibus) Deus præſto eſt*; and God himſelf will own ſuch a Cauſe as this.

Beſides the goodneſs of the Engliſh Cauſe, the Courage of the Engliſh is a part of our Strength, in which it is enough to ſay that they are not inferior to any Nation; only this

ſeems to be the advantage of a free Government, that whereas in other Countries there is as true Valour to be found as any here, yet it is not national; if it be in ſome of the Nobleſs, yet the Peaſantry is abject and quite out of Heart. It is true, the Nation is not ſo well exerciſed in Arms, as they were when Bows and Arrows were the Artillery of the World, tho it is eaſy to apply the old Laws about them to the uſe of Fire-Arms: But in the mean time where there is ſheer Courage in a Nation, Men are Soldiers by inſtinct, and as ſoon as they ſee an Enemy know how to kill him; and tho they cannot do it in manner, and form, and with addreſs, yet if they do it any how it will ſerve turn: for if they are to ſeek after the firſt firing, and are forced to uſe the But-end of the Musket, as it was at *Philips Norton*, an Invader brain'd is well kill'd, and ſuch undiſciplined Hands will do the work. But this is an invidious Subject; and the Courage of any People appears beſt by being tried.

The laſt thing is the Numbers of *England*, which tho it be the Arm of Fleſh, and not proudly to be relied upon, yet it may be put into the Scale and weighed againſt the Terrours of an Invaſion. Upon ſuch an occaſion as this when the Late King's Miniſters were endeavouring to eſtabliſh a Standing Army by a ſide Wind, only by getting a ſupply of Money for them for a Year, this was Sir *Thomas Clarges*'s Argument againſt it in Parliament, That we had a native Strength of ſeven Millions of Men in *England*, and therefore had no occaſion for a Standing Army, either againſt an Inſurrection or an Invaſion, for both of them were pretended at that time. And it is ſuch an Argument, as makes all the Pretences for a Land Force look very ridiculouſly. Is the Nation defenceleſs with ſeven Millions, and is it ſafe with twenty Thouſand, part of that ſeven Millions? I have heard of one Man chace-

ing

ing a Thouſand, but I never heard of one Man guarding a Thouſand. So that it is here as *Polybius* ſays, it is in Declarations of War, one Reaſon is given out, but that which is concealed is the true Reaſon. But to return, in ſeven Millions we have ſo great choice, that if one Million will not fight to defend their native Country another will, and a third may ſee fair play, and a fourth is a good Reſerve, and ſo are all the reſt. So that under God we defy all the Invaſions of the World beſide; and eſpecially if an Invaſion ſhould come from one quarter, I am ſatisfied that the Nation is ready for them, they are ſo ill beloved, at an hours warning: And there are many Thouſands in *England*, that would rather ſee them on Shore, to have the fighting of them, than go to their Dinner.

In theſe three things united, lies our Strength; for if our Cauſe and Courage were gone, (as they will go or ſtay both together) *Nos numerus ſumus*, and we ſhould be an eaſy Prey to the next Invader: For the Wolf never cares how many the Sheep are. And again, tho our Cauſe and Courage be never ſo good, if it were poſſible for an Invaſion to out-number us, they might ſubdue and be too many for us by their odds. And therefore it is worthy of the publick Wiſdom of the Nation to take care to preſerve it intire in all theſe Particulars: for while the People are in heart to fight, and have ſomewhat to fight for, and are enow of them, there is no danger of any harm coming to them. They can indeed be broken and enſlaved no other way but by a Standing Army, for while there is no force to over-rule, the Law takes place; but then they may be drained and diminiſhed in the ſtrength of their Numbers ſeveral ways, theſe two eſpecially.

Firſt by ſuffering the Natives of *England* to ſtraggle into foreign and remote Countries, from whence in all likelyhood they will never return; eſpecially if they have offers

offers of Preferment, and thoſe are often our uſefulleſt Men, whereby they are loſt to the Nation: or elſe into Countries nearer home, where they may poſſibly hereafter take Service and be employed to our prejudice; and theſe are a double loſs, for every ſingle Man that goes out, is two againſt us. The like may be ſaid concerning our Horſes, which next to our People are of the greateſt uſe in War; and yet agreeably to all our other Contradictions, we fright the People with Invaſions, and at the ſame time tranſport our Horſes daily and mount our Invaders.

A ſecond way of diminiſhing the Strength of the Nation as to its numbers, is by leeting in Foreigners and Aliens amongſt us. To a Mans firſt ſuperficial thoughts it may ſeem quite otherwiſe, and that it is an Addition of Strength; but upon a true computation it is a great abatement, and for every Foreigner living in *England* we have an Engliſh man the leſs. Becauſe they not only are a dead weight to the Nation, and cannot be relied upon for any aſſiſtance, but perhaps they may be Enemies, for who can vouch for Inhabitants unknown? And then ſo many Thouſands as they are, ſo many Thouſands we muſt ſtrike off from our ſeven Millions, to ballance them. The old Romans had that Notion of a Stranger that he was an Enemy, and by the Name *Hoſtis* indifferently expreſſed them both, and indeed who can know them aſunder? And if they be Enemies, they are certainly the moſt dangerous, as being already within us. Neither is it the firſt time that Strangers in *England* have been the Neſt-Eggs of a Foreign Invaſion. The Saxon Aid that *Vortigern* and his ſilly *Thanes* let in, ſent afterwards for ſo many more of their Country-men, as ſerved to conquer the Nation. The *Normans* likewiſe that were here in *England* in the Confeſſors time, were a great help, and encouragement, and inlet to the following *Norman* Invaſion. For tho the Kingdom

dom expreſly ordered when they firſt ſent for him over (as having dearly paid for the admiſſion of Strangers) That he ſhould not bring any number of *Normans* along with him, *mandantes ei ut ſecurè cum Paucis Normannis veniret, paruit autem Edwardus & cum paucis in Angliam veniens*, &c. yet ſo many found the way hither afterwards as filled the beſt places both in Court and Church, as we learn by *Ingulphus* Abbot of *Croyland*, who very well knew. So that Duke *William* had a ſettled Correſpondence, and a Party ready formed long before he came. I know there are many amongſt us that can find out great Security in their being of this or that Country, this or that Religion; ſo in *New-England* they have a diſtinction of Friend-Indians, and Enemy-Indians, but very often that diſtinction is loſt, and they prove all one.

But theſe Men have a yet farther reach, for they will have neither Friend-Indians nor Enemy-Indians, nor Indians at all, but know how to make them all their own, and very good Engliſhmen, by a General Act of Naturalization: which is juſt ſuch a Fetch, as the winning of Perſons diſaffected to a Government by giving them the greateſt Places of Truſt, which only enables them to do the more Miſchief. This Project is ſo contrary to our Conſtitution, that he who has the Original *Magna Charta* with K. *John*'s Seal to it, may find there, if he pleaſes to look into it, this Original Engliſh Right, *That all Strangers ſhall be amoved out of the Kingdom.* Accordingly the Practice was ever both before and ſince to keep Strangers out of the Kingdom, or when ever they got in and encreaſed to any number, to expel them and ſet them a *fatal Day* for their departure: *by which time they all ſlunk away and vaniſhed like ſo many Phantaſms or Apparitions*; for ſo the old Hiſtorians pleaſantly expreſs it, as if the Nation took great Contentment in it. And indeed they thought them always ſuch a Grievance, that

that when they could not otherwiſe find means to ſend them home, (as when they were the Queens Kindred, or otherwiſe countenanced by the Court) the Barons with Sword in hand would ſee it done. At other times they bought them off, when they could not otherwiſe be fairly rid of them, of which we have this following remarkable Inſtance.

*Hanelec* Prince of *Denmark* married an Heireſs to one of the Saxon Heptarchs, and thereby the Danes got Footing in *England*, which cauſed all the Daniſh Outrages till *Knute*. But when *Knute* was poſſeſſed of the whole Kingdom, after the Death of *Edmond Ironſide*, " To have " *England* ſee that now he was hers, he ſends away his " Navy and Stipendiary Soldiers home to their Countries, " and puts himſelf wholly upon this People; taking the " way of Mildneſs, a better means for his Eſtabliſhment " than Force: but the Land paid for the remuneration of " his People and this Evacuation of Strangers 83000 " Pounds of Silver; which it rather conſented to do at " once, *than to have them a daily burthen to peſter the State* " *for ever*. Theſe are the words of our Hiſtorian *Daniel*, *p.* 19. Our ancient Hiſtorians add, that this was done *Rogatu Baronum* at the Requeſt of the Parliament, which is plain by their paying the Money.

Notwithſtanding this, there were ſo many Danes got into the Kingdom in theſe 3 Daniſh Reigns which laſted but 26 Years, as ſerved to lord it over the Natives: ſo *Brompton p* 934. expreſſes their contemptuous Uſage of the Engliſh. " If a Dane met an Engliſhman upon a Bridg, " the Engliſhman durſt not ſtir a foot till the Dane had " quite paſſed the Bridg; and moreover, unleſs the Eng- " liſh had made the Danes an Obeyſance, they were ſure " to be ſoundly beaten. But this at the Death of *Hardiknute* put an end to the Daniſh Line, and occaſioned the total

total expulsion of them for ever. And this might justly make the Realm so very cautious about the next King the Confessor's Norman Retinue; which for all their care laid the Foundation of the Norman Invasion. For as soon as Duke *William* heard both at once of the Death of *Edward* and the Coronation of *Harold*, he assembles the States of *Normandy*, and lays before them his Pretensions to *England*, and sollicites their assistance to recover it; *shewing them apparent probability of success, by infallible Intelligence he had from the State, his strong Party therein; with the debility and distraction of the People.* Daniel *p.* 34. These were Friend-Indians got into the Bowels of the Realm, who thus betrayed it to a foreign Invasion.

In short, the Wisdom of the Nation in former Ages, by which we subsist at this Day, was against the admitting of any Aliens into the Kingdom, unless it were Merchants-Strangers for the sake of Commerce; and they too were restrained in these two Points besides divers others, *not to take a House, nor stay above* 40 *days:* as we find by the *London* Petition reciting the ancient Usages, and the Act made upon it, 50 *E.* 3. *Tener hostiel, & de fair leur demeure outre* 40 *jours, la ou en temps passe nul estranges Marchants nul des cestes points solint user.* But this is a Subject that deserves a just discourse; because the very great care our Ancestors took, and the weighty Reasons upon which they proceeded in this Affair, cannot be fully seen at a glance, nor be truly represented in a few words by the by. The empairing of the Natives; the discovering the Secrets of the Realm to our Enemies abroad, the ill Offices they always did at Court, witness the Count of St. *Paul*'s advice to *R.* 2. which put him upon all the outragious Tyranny of the latter part of his Reign; their being the constant Implements of Arbitrary Princes, *when they could not confide in their own Subjects*, that is,

when they would not ſerve them in their arbitrary Deſigns, nor be made the Inſtruments of enſlaving their native Country; theſe were ſome of the moſt obvious and moſt frequently avowed Reaſons againſt the admiſſion of Strangers, or ſuffering them to be here. But then there were others which lay much deeper, at the very bottom of the Conſtitution: For every Hundred in a County being ſubdivided into Decennaries or Tythings, and theſe conſiſting of Men that were all bound for one another, and were mutual Pledges for the good behaviour of each other, and every Maſter of a Houſe anſwerable for his whole Family, it was impoſſible there ſhould be any room left in *England*, either for Strangers or Vagabonds. And this was the Perfection of the Engliſh Conſtitution both in the Saxon and Norman Times, which rendered it the moſt united Nation under Heaven, and they were all of them in ſtrictneſs of Speech *conjurati fratres in defenſionem regis & regni*, and as much ſworn Brothers as if they had been one Mothers Children. Now in ſuch a Conſtitution it was impoſſible for a Stranger to thruſt in his Noſe; for where could nine Men together be found to anſwer for Monſieur *Whatchum*, who had neither Friends by Father's ſide nor Mother's ſide to be his Hoſtages, with whom they muſt converſe by an Interpreter, of whom they could have no hold nor ſecurity having no knowledg, and who might go and leave his Pledges in the lurch as lightly as he came? And therefore the Strangers and Aliens that were ſo often evacuated could not have made their abode here, if they had not crept in as Inmates into great Cities, or at Court, or in the Church; and there it was they ſwarmed, and lived upon the ſpoils of the Nation. Our moſt judicious Antiquaries cannot mention theſe Decennaries or aſſociated Neighbourhoods, without bewailing the decay of that part of our Conſtitution; as if the Nation

tion had thereby loſt all its compacted Strength, and were become *like a great Wall of looſe Stones without Morter*, and only a multitude of Individuals. I am ſorry too, but do not think the loſs of them ſo fatal. For whether the Engliſh Temper and Inclination led them to theſe Guilds and Fraternities, or whether the living ſo long under them produced that Temper, or both; I am ſure it runs in a blood, and all Engliſhmen ſtill retain a reſervedneſs and ſhyneſs towards Strangers, and cannot be ſuddainly acquainted; they alſo will engage very far for one another, and they take an injury done to another as done to themſelves. Theſe fruits and advantages of the Decennaries ſtill remain, as if they were yet ſtanding. And tho the Engliſh have now Squabbles and Differences amongſt themſelves (ſo they had then, and a Headborough to compoſe them) yet a common Cauſe and a common Enemy always reconciles and unites them; and as looſe as the Stones may ſeem to be, let but an Invaſion come and that will find Morter.

This was the old Engliſh Conduct heretofore towards Foreigners, but the modern Policy is for the direct contrary a general Naturalization. Whenever I hear that word, I cannot forbear thinking, What is old *England* now to be planted and peopled? Or are we to begin a new Commonwealth with an *Aſylum*, in *Romulus*'s way? The Nation never yet wanted People to keep the Plough going, notwithſtanding the great encreaſe of Tillage; and we have more hands for Manufactures than we can find in Employment. Our Merchants and Retailers are innumerable, and moſt of our Profeſſions are overſtock'd. And this glut of Men continues, tho one would have expected that the vaſt Colonies we have ſent into *America*, ſhould long ſince have drained us. We have ſhoals of Seamen to maintain our Dominion there, and to enlarge

Commerce; and tho *England* be an *open Country*, yet it is ſo well man'd, that it ſcorns all other Fortifications. What then do we want Strangers for, unleſs it be to make a dearth of Proviſion, which is always a greater Tax upon our own People than a Capitation, and more unequally laid; or elſe to beat out our own ſubſtantial Manufactures, with Outlandiſh frippery and foreign Knacks? I have heard indeed that it will raiſe the price of Land, but is the Nation going to ſell? However raiſing the price of it, will make it only ſo much the worſe for an Engliſh Purchaſer. Others would have a General Naturalization for the ſake of the French Refugees, who being ſhut out of their own Country for being Proteſtants, ought by all means to be encouraged to make this their home.

I think all the World endeavours to make earnings of that poor People, and to ſerve their own little ends upon them. Their own Monarch gained ſeveral Points by expelling them out of *France*, for thereby he ſhewed the plenitude of Arbitrary Power, which will have all its Slaves believe as they are bidden, as well as they do every thing elſe; and can at pleaſure make out caſts of vaſt numbers of Natives, who had as much right to ſtay in their own Country, as any of thoſe whom they left behind them. And then he could do nothing greater to ingratiate himſelf with the See of *Rome*, and with a Church of his own, which is ſo full of Riches and Treaſure, that if we give any heed to the Author of the Queries, it may have I know not how many Invaſions in the Belly of it. King *Ch.* 2. reaped as great advantages on this ſide the Water by entertaining and ſuccouring them. For thereby he ſtrongly confirmed the old authorized cheat of his being a good Proteſtant, which enabled him to carry on his Church-game, and to ſettle a Popiſh Succeſſor after him. It gave him an opportunity likewiſe to tax and burden the

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Whig part of the Nation with large Collections and Contributions for them, in which the Popiſh Party and their Adherents did not think themſelves concerned; ſo that by his tender and compaſſionate Briefs in their behalf, he found a way to weaken and empoveriſh the Proteſtants here, and gave them an indigent People to keep. Their Paſſive and Slaviſh Principles were alſo of great uſe to him, and very inſtructive to his own People, how to bear all the Hoſtilities of their Prince, and to ſubmit to be dragoon'd without reſiſtance, and even to turn Refugees themſelves, whenever the French and Iriſh Papiſts were to be call'd for in their room. The Church likewiſe, that then was, would loſe none of the advantages which they could make by them, but preſently beguiled *John Calvin* of his Country-men and Followers, and by getting them to conform, and renounce their own orders in taking Epiſcopal, rendered our own Diſſenters at home ſo very inexcuſable, that then they might Pound them and Pinfold them, and do what they would with them. The late King *James* ſtill continued them in the Nation, and let in more, to make good that ſpirit of Forbearance and Toleration, which he always profeſſed; and to ſhew that whatever the French Popery was, his was only for a *Magna Charta* of Liberty of Conſcience. And what further uſe may be meant to be made of them, I liſt not to enquire; but if ever hereafter *England* be hurt, it muſt be by Mercenaries and Foreigners.

And therefore I take it to be the happieſt expedient which ſeveral French Perſons of Quality have found out for them, to go and be their own Men in a new-diſcovered Country, and there hold their very cheap Lands of the Mannor of *Greenwich*; wherein they will fare as well as our own Refugees did in *New-England*, and, which is the worſt I ever wiſh'd them, I hope they will fare better, and never

never have their Charter taken from them. For if on the other hand they be hired to ſettle in *Ireland*, that Kingdom will ſoon be found, not to be in Engliſh Hands. But wherever they go, they muſt needs ſay, that they have met with a very kind Reception in *England*, conſidering that all the while they have very much empaired many thouſands of the Natives here, and have interfered with them in their very Livelihood. They have likewiſe had Taxes granted towards their Maintenance, which was an Indulgence not extended to the Engliſh Refugees that fled from the Iriſh Maſſacre, and to many more that have had fairer Pretenſions to it.

Another Argument for a General Naturalization is gratitude to the Dutch, who ought to ſhare in the Advantages of *England*, ſince they bare ſo great a part in preſerving them for us, and in giving us our preſent King. That's a Debt, I confeſs, which will be always paying and never paid, tho the People have requited him with 3 Kingdoms, the greateſt Recompence upon Earth. But I will be judged by *Hugo Grotius* in his *de Rebus Belgicis*, whether that State could ever have help'd it ſelf, much leſs any Body elſe, if it had not been for the Engliſh Aſſiſtance heretofore. Which I often thought of, and therefore thought it very long before they interpoſed in our behalf, when by our Folly we had brought our ſelves full as low as the once diſtreſſed States of *Holland*; but they did it at laſt very amply and very effectually. So that there has been an entercourſe of mutual Kindneſs and good Offices betwixt the two Nations, which I hope will never be wanting upon all other occaſions, but ſhould be right ſorry if the like occaſion ſhould ever happen to either. But what is this to a general Naturalization? Becauſe the Dutch and we are very good Friends and Allies, and do beſt as Neighbours, therefore we muſt adopt them, and give them the

the Birthright of *England*, and the Inheritance of *Magna Charta!* We did not come ſo lightly by thoſe Liberties; but the tranſmitting of them down to Poſterity has been a buſineſs of much toil and ſweat, and much blood. Yes, ſay theſe Men, by communicating this Benefit to the Dutch Proteſtants, we gain another to our ſelves, and make it their Intereſt to help us maintain our Conſtitution, againſt a falſe Party within us which would betray it.

But they muſt firſt underſtand our Conſtitution, before they can help to defend it, which no Foreigner ever yet did. I appeal to thoſe who have converſed moſt with foreign Embaſſadors and the ableſt Miniſters from abroad, whether any of them could comprehend the Nature of our Government, tho they reſided here never ſo long, or were ever able to frame a tolerable Notion of what the Engliſh Conſtitution is? For Inſtance, when they have been informed that this is a Monarchy and an Hereditary Monarchy, they preſently conclude the King can do all, and there is an unalterable Line of Succeſſion; and when they come here and ſee it otherwiſe, then they conclude the King can do nothing, and the Kingdom is Elective: and when they are told that neither is it ſo, then they conclude it is a Riddle of a Government; and ſo it is to them, for it is the *Engliſh Government*, which falls under no Rules nor Terms of Art. For it was not borrowed from *Ariſtotle* or *Plato*, or any of thoſe Platform Men; neither was it *moulded by our Anceſtors out of a mixture of Abſolute Monarchy, Ariſtocracy and Democracy*, as the Anſwer to the 19*th Propoſ.* ſays. But it is wholly built upon the Reaſon of the thing, it is directed to the high Honour of God, and the common Profit of the Realm; and conſiſts of downright Honeſty and deep Thought; it has no other mixtures in it. Accordingly a Saxon *Koning* had never been called a *Monarch*, but only to ſhew that he was no Heptarch,

tarch, and it was equivalent to *Totius Albionis Rex*; not that it imported any Abſolute Power, for he was empowered by the Folcmote. *Poteſtatem habet a populo efflux-am*, as *Forteſcue* expreſſes it, ſpeaking of an Engliſh King. And yet you cannot ſay that he has no Power becauſe he has only a Legal Power, for he is inveſted with as large and as great Powers, and as truly Royal and Imperial, to anſwer all the ends of Government, as any King or Emperor in Chriſtendom: And the nobleſt of his Powers and which has moſt perfection in it is this, *That he can do no wrong*; for to be able to do that is but Impotency, as *Forteſcue* has wiſely obſerved.

So again, this Monarchy you may call Hereditary if you will, becauſe it often goes that way, unleſs the State think fit to order it otherwiſe. And yet this Hereditary Monarch is ſolemnly adjured not to meddle with the Crown unleſs he mean to keep his Oath and govern according to Law: and the conſent of the People to have him for their King, is as abſolutely requiſite at his Coronation, as if he were choſen in the Field. And the Succeſſion is ſo far from being unalterable, that it was laid down as a firſt Principle by Sir *Thomas More* and Sir *Richard Rich* Attorney General, *That an Act of Parliament could make him Richard Rich King*, in their Argument about the Supremacy of *H.* 8. And this is ſo fundamental a Point in the Engliſh Government, of ſuch undoubted Right and ſuch weighty Conſequence, that the denial of it was made High Treaſon during Q. *Eliz.* Reign, and it is ſtill a Premunire to this day. And yet I trow we are no elective Kingdom neither, but a wiſer Conſtitution than that comes to. We have no *Interrex* in a Vacancy to play his *Rex*, nor Cardinal Primate to make a falſe return of an Election, and to elude the Peoples choice; but the Crown reſts and remains with the People of *England*, who had always the diſpoſal

Ld. *Herb. H.* 8.

diſpoſal of it, till they inveſt a new King with it; and during that time the Pleas of the Crown are theirs, and the Offences committed againſt the Peace, are done againſt the Realm, and muſt be ſo proſecuted.

The Rights likewiſe of the Engliſh *Subjects* are as little underſtood by Foreigners, which occaſioned that Speech of one of them not long ago, *The Engliſh take themſelves to be all Kings, but 'ere long they will find their miſtake.* No, the Engliſh don't take themſelves to be all Conſtables, much leſs Kings: they know their diſtance and their duty to that high Office, no People more. And if they have a good Prince they know how to value him, (if they have a Tyrant or an Oppreſſor, that's their own fault and not his;) but if they have a good one, they think themſelves happy to live under him, they love, honour and obey him, they reverence and admire him, and all but worſhip him. And this they do freely and chearfully, not with a forced Subjection, but as Freemen and not Slaves, nor with made cringes and inward hate. But when that is done, in all their Engliſh Rights and Liberties *they are as free as the thought in a Man's mind,* and no Emperor can be more. So King *Alfred* and his Parliament declared them, and I never read of their being enſlaved ſince. *Knute* ſwore fealty to them, and the other reputed Conquerour took the preſent Coronation Oath. I cannot but ſay that ſeveral of his Succeſſors did their true endeavour to enſlave the Nation; but they periſhed in the attempt, and it ended in their own deſtruction: And it was all their own. For it was impoſſible for Engliſh-men not to know and maintain their Rights and Liberties, it being in thoſe days made a matter of Conſcience ſo to do. All Confeſſors were required to be perfect in *Magna Charta*, on purpoſe to inform and direct the Conſciences of the People in keeping it. And *Magna Charta* was likewiſe ordered by

*Teſtam. Alfred. apud* Aſſer Menev.

*Pupilla oculi*, f. 59.

ſeveral Statutes firſt to be publickly read in all Cathedrals twice a Year, and then the Breakers of it to be excommunicated, and their Excommunication denounced in all Pariſh Churches; in order to which every Cathedral was furniſhed with an authentick Copy under the Great Seal. But in latter Reigns, inſtead of inculcating and enforcing the Engliſh Rights and Liberties, the Cathedrals and Confeſſors have untaught them the People, and have ſacrificed them up to Sir *Wynſtan Churchill*'s *Divi Britannici.*

I will not go about to reckon up all the Worthies that have ſignalized themſelves in this Service, but leave that to the Hiſtoriographer Royal of Paſſive Obedience; nor inſtance in *Bancroft*, *Sibthorp*, and *Manwaring*: the firſt of whom transforms ſeveral of the Engliſh Principles into *dangerous Poſitions*, and fetches them from *Geneva*, whereas the Confeſſors in Q. *Maries* time carried them from hence; and the other two by their arbitrary Doctrine ſo far prophaned preaching, that they did not make it the fooliſhneſs St. *Paul* ſpeaks of, but quite the other thing. But I will confine my ſelf to the late A. B. *Laud*, as being a Repreſentative, and Head of that Party which the late K. *James* termed *the Laudean Church of* England-*men*, and which that he might the more confirm to himſelf, he aſſured by Dr. *Parker* in 83. *That as they had been always for him, he would always be for them.*

About 3 or 4 Years ago came out his own Hiſtory written by himſelf, whereby it appears that his great deſign of eſtabliſhing Arbitrary Government was admirably well laid. For he goes orderly to work, *removendo prohibens & promovendo adjuvans*, firſt by throwing down *Magna Charta*, and then by ſetting up his own Arbitrary Cannons. A Writing of his (which was brought in evidence againſt him, to prove his endeavouring to ſubvert the Laws)

Laws) began with theſe words, *Magna Charta had an obſcure Birth, and was foſtered by an ill Nurſe.* " Upon this he ſays the manager of the Houſe of Commons " ſpake loud, and asked, what Laws he would ſpare, " that ſpake thus of *Magna Charta?* After ſome little ſhuffling of an anſwer to keep his hand in ure, he juſtifies thoſe opprobrious words, and intimates likewiſe that another Manager afterwards was conſcious of the faultineſs of *Magna Charta*, and indefenſibleneſs of it againſt that Paper, by omitting the mentioning of it upon two very juſt occaſions of mentioning it, *elſe he would never have denied a Vindication to Magna Charta.* " Here, *ſays the* " *Publiſher*, is a void ſpace left in the Margin, with deſign " (as I ſuppoſe) to inſert therein ſome Paſſages out of " Law-Books, concerning the obſcure Birth of *Magna* " *Charta:* which ſpace was not filled up. *H. W.* *Land's Hiſt.* P. 409.

I am very certain that *Magna Charta* had never done him nor any other Engliſh-man any wrong; but becauſe it ſtood in his way, and hindred him from making his Court with his Paſſive Obedience, and from making himſelf and his Maſter great, he thus vilifies it, and endeavours to bring it into hatred and contempt. It is the ſame Aſperſion which is expreſſed more plainly and leſs ſlyly by others of the ſame ſtamp, *That it was at firſt extorted, and afterwards maintained by Rebellion*; who have likewiſe made the Houſe of Commons to be of the ſame extraction, and alike born in Sin, being founded in Rebellion, 49 *H.* 3. There is no honeſt Engliſh-man but if there was occaſion would ſpend his blood for *Magna Charta*, that ſacred Repoſitory of all the Engliſh Liberties, and therefore I ſhall not grudg to ſpend a few Lines in vindication of it, tho it be here repreſented as if it had been ſome ſpurious Birth and been ſuckled by a Wolf. But this muſt be the work of a ſecond Part.

*FINIS.*